UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
20th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 28 October 1992
at 10 a.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 20th MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. ELARABY	(Egypt)
later:	Mr. SUH (Vice-Chairman)	(Republic of Korea)
later:	Mr. PATOKALLIO (Vice-Chairman)	(Finland)

CONTENTS

- General debate on all disarmament and international security items (continued)

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

92-61646 2416V (E)

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/47/PV.20
27 November 1992

ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 49 to 65, 68 and 142, and 67 and 69 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ITEMS

Mr. WAQANISAU (Fiji): This being the first statement of my delegation to this Committee at this session, please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of this very important Committee. We are confidence that, with your experience and diplomatic skills, this Committee is set to achieve a lot during the coming months. Our congratulations also go to the other members of your Bureau, and you can be assured of my delegation's cooperation at all times.

It is heartening to see that in the aftermath of the disappearance of bipolarity and the cold war, the international community continues to search for a more peaceful world, thus bringing to the fore the whole question of international peace and security. The lead that has been taken by powerful nations in this regard is most appreciated by small and developing nations like my own.

Small countries like Fiji may appear to be not fully participating in the disarmament process. That does not mean that we are not interested - far from it. It is due to many limitations, for example finance. We in the Pacific have been continuously vocal on matters to do with disarmament, particularly in the area of nuclear testing, because we have been directly affected by it for many decades. But, with present developments, we feel we are again beginning to breathe the new air of survival and perhaps of longer living, and we urge all nations big and small, rich and poor, powerful and weak, to maintain the present progress, as this is the very prerequisite for the maintenance of international peace and security, and should therefore be pursued by all with vigour and determination.

(Mr. Waganisau, Fiji)

My delegation welcomes with relief the agreement between the Presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation to drastically reduce their nuclear arsenals, in particular the agreement of the June Summit this year to make further cuts between now and the year 2003. It is our silent hope that greater cuts can be implemented further down the road and that all other nuclear countries will also follow those two leaders.

Fiji, as part of the Greater Pacific, also welcomes the moratoriums on nuclear testing put in place by France, Russia and the United States of America. After being affected by nuclear testing for decades, our hope now is for an indefinite continuation of these moratoriums. To that end, we fully agree with Australia and New Zealand that a treaty to codify a total ban on all tests for all times and in all environments is what we South Pacific countries look forward to.

The South Pacific is also not free from the effects of chemical weapons. The Destruction System in the Johnston Atoll is just one example of what we have in our midst. Fiji, however, wishes to congratulate members of the Conference on Disarmament on the successful conclusion of the long-running negotiations on a chemical weapons Convention. The completion of those difficult negctiations bears testimony to what can be achieved by international determination to cooperate for the benefit of mutual security.

In banning the production, stockpiling, transfer and use of chemical weapons under any circumstances, the Convention stands to make a substantial contribution to international peace and security. In this regard we would urge all nations directly involved in the Conference on Disarmament to demonstrate their commitment to a chemical-weapons-free world by supporting the resolutions and the work of its Preparatory Committee.

(Mr. Waqanisau, Fiji)

The world needs seriously to reconsider its attitudes and policies for a nuclear-weapons-free world. My delegation believes restrictions imposed on other countries by nuclear elites in the hope that that will solve the problems of nuclear proliferation will certainly not solve the problem of proliferation. What we need is a non-discriminatory solution, and we therefore call for only one - and that is the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and thereby the threats emanating from them. My delegation applauds the lead that has now been taken by the nuclear Powers of the world in this regard. We believe that as long as a discriminatory solution is in place there can be no end to proliferation.

My delegation appreciates the various regional developments that have taken or are taking place with regard to nuclear non-proliferation: the Treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America - the Tlatelolco Treaty by Chile, Brazil and Argentina; the establishing of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa; the Treaty of Rarotonga by the South Pacific countries; the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula by the north and the south; the commitments by various newly-independent States of the former Soviet Union to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty as non-nuclear-weapon States; the Middle East peace talks; and many more. We urge all other nuclear-weapon countries sympathetically to listen to the concerned voices of the rest of the international community. At the same time we also urge all non-nuclear States to resist all forms of nuclear proliferation.

While we appreciate the various developments with regard to nuclear- and chemical-weapons reduction and destruction, and also the move to rid the world of nuclear proliferation, we must not forget the numerous conflicts and armed

(Mr. Waqanisau, Fiji)

struggles throughout the world today. Many prolonged armed struggles have increased poverty in those countries and made starvation more rampant, and in the end, again, the international community is expected to provide the necessary relief. Somalia is a classic case in point.

We all know that the existing armed struggles in the world are made possible by the readily and easily available and free flow of conventional arms between organizations and/or States. In practically all cases, the countries concerned are infested with arms - those that have entered legally and those that have not. We urge all suppliers and recipients of arms to ensure that arms transfers are legitimately and responsibly carried out; each State should develop transparent and effective systems to control the supply and demand in arms.

My delegation welcomes the move to establish a United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and also the concern of the developed world in ensuring the control of international arms transfers. We also welcome the initiative that has now been taken by the five major arms-exporting countries, and we hope that their efforts will lead to the establishment of an effective regime.

(Mr. Waqanisau, Fiji)

The Pacific has chemical weapons stockpiles. The Pacific is suffering from the effects of atomic radiation; the agreement by a major nation to pay compensation for the effects of radiation testifies to this. The Pacific has experienced numerous nuclear tests in the past, and my region has been most vocal on the issue in recent decades. Members may wonder why. It is because we live in the Pacific, and the livelihood of our island States depends to a great extent on ocean resources. Pollution of the air and sea and the destruction of ocean resources is systematically destroying our livelihood.

We are aware that our region is slowly becoming the focus of world attention after the disintegration of communism in Europe. Our concern will therefore become even greater if the nuclear-weapon race continues. But we are most optimistic that, in view of current developments and the lead that the nuclear Powers have taken with regard to a nuclear-test ban, nuclear non-proliferation and chemical-weapon treaties, our means of livelihood will not be contaminated further, but will now be spared.

Mr. DIMITROV (Bulgaria): I wish to speak today on agenda item 69, which concerns the strengthening of international security. However, before turning to that subject I must mention the important event that we all took part in yesterday - observance of Disarmament Week. The Committee was impressed by the report, "New dimensions of arms regulation and disarmament in the post-cold-war era" (A/C.1/47/7), introduced yesterday by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The delegation of Bulgaria welcomes the submission of this important document as a timely initiative that is expected to give further impetus to the efforts to adapt the activities of the United Nations to the new challenges of our time. My delegation will study the report thoroughly and return with more considered and detailed views on it.

(Mr. Dimitrov, Bulgaria)

At this stage, however, I can state definitely that we share the view expressed in the report of the Secretary-General that disarmament is central to international security needs. It is one of the basic pillars of the global efforts to maintain peace and security. We fully agree with the Secretary-General that the three concepts be put forward - integration, globalization and revitalization - can be the foundation-stones of an enhanced international effort in this field.

We expect that the rich conceptual basis provided by this report, which could well be entitled "Arms-control agenda for peace", will be followed by action both by Governments and the Secretariat to stabilize the institutions supporting disarmament-related activities, as seen in the new perspective.

Coming back to my subject for today, I wish to recall that the recent profound changes in the world have presented the international community with a unique opportunity to establish a new world order based on global security and cooperation between States. The United Nations, as a universal mechanism for harmonizing the interests and activities of Member States, is entitled to play a key role in the establishment of this new order.

The Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" is a valuable contribution to the work of the Organization and provides an important conceptual basis for a comprehensive strategy to safeguard and strengthen peace and security. My country welcomes the ideas that the Secretary-General puts forward with regard to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-building. We are ready to cooperate with all other countries in efforts to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to build, promote and maintain international peace and security. The potential of the Charter in this respect should be fully utilized.

(Mr. Dimitrov, Bulgaria)

Bulgaria supports the idea of establishing new links between the United Nations and regional organizations for the purpose of dealing with issues of crisis management and post-conflict peace-building, with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the United Nations.

The new European and world security architecture is characterized by institutionalized procedures and standards of collective peace, the containment of political crises and the settlement of conflicts. We aim at combining regional and global efforts in this field.

As a democratic country that has rejected a totalitarian communist regime, Bulgaria will participate actively in the building of the new European and world order. In the light of our efforts to contribute to regional and global security, we are gratified that Bulgaria has been described by many as "an island of peaceful transition and stability" in the subregion.

One of the most evident features of the process of democratization in Bulgaria is my Government's foreign policy in respect of the Balkans. At this point in history, political developments in the Balkans constitute one of the essential elements of European security. The Government of my country acknowledges its responsibility by giving its Balkans policy European shape through application of the principles and mechanisms of the European process in the specific conditions created by the new realities in the south-eastern part of Europe.

Bulgaria's foreign policy in the subregion is in line with European standards. Bulgaria strongly opposes historical revanchism and rejects confrontation and bloc structures. We aim to create opportunities for the promotion of mutually beneficial relations with all our neighbours. The instruments for achieving these goals are dialogue and understanding, which means resolving existing and future problems by political means. It is our

(Mr. Dimitrov, Bulgaria)

firm intention to strengthen the guarantees of Bulgaria's national security by promoting good-neighbourly relations with all other Balkan States. In pursuit of this objective my country has signed Treaties of friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations with Greece, Turkey and Romania. Similar treaties with Albania, Slovenia and Croatia are in the course of preparation.

In the military sphere, the national security of my country has a direct connection with the development of relations that provide for greater openness and predictability. We are striving to dispose, once and for all, of the legacy of the cold-war era, a legacy that has for long been a source of instability and a threat to the peoples of the Balkan subregion.

We believe that in addition to political treaties, which constitute a legal basis for developing relations with our neighbours, and measures taken in the military field, greater economic support for the countries in the subregion would definitely have a stabilizing effect. We are seeking to develop new forms of economic cooperation. Together with the other Black Sea countries, we have taken certain steps in this direction, thus enhancing the role of economic factors in the settlement of politico-strategic matters.

Bulgaria has launched the idea of establishing a forum of south-eastern European States, after the crisis in the former Yugoslavia has been settled. This forum would adopt a charter whereby the countries in the subregion would jointly state that they had no territorial claims or ambitions whatsoever. We believe that such highly respected organizations as the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe, the Western European Union and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council would make an important contribution to more effective work by the forum.

(Mr. Dimitrov, Bulgaria)

This initiative has come to be known as a "Balkan Helsinki". In our view, it provides a realistic opportunity for a new beginning in the development of relations free of the prejudice of the past and, above all, free of territorial claims. This initiative, with its positive potential for, and concern about, a peaceful and secure future for the Balkans, has excited widespread interest.

Implementation of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act to meet the specific military, political, social and environmental realities in the Balkans, which is the core of the idea of a "Balkan Helsinki" forum, could be complemented by a programme for the economic recovery of the countries in the area, a programme similar to the well-known Marshall Plan.

(Mr. Dimitrov, Bulgaria)

Our attitude to the crisis in Yugoslavia and to the former Yugoslav republics which have declared their sovereignty is an essential element of my country's policy on the Balkans. Since the very beginning of the conflict our policy has been aimed at preventing its spread and contributing to the efforts of the international community to find a political solution.

As early as 15 January of this year, Bulgaria recognized all four Republics of the former Yugoslavia, which had declared their independence, and the existing borders. In this way we acknowledged their right to self-determination and the inviolability of their borders, declaring at the same time that we had no territorial claims whatsoever. It is of vital importance for security in this subregion of Europe that the ongoing conflict be localized and its spread hindered. My delegation believes that in the present circumstances further advancement of the process of recognition of the four States will have a stabilizing effect in the Balkans.

It is in the interest of all the States concerned that an early settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia be achieved. My Government has supported every effort made by the international community to find a solution to this tragic drama. With a view to containing the conflict, creating an atmosphere of confidence and preventing possible misunderstandings, Bulgaria has repeatedly stated its readiness to accept the deployment of missions of foreign observers along its western border. Such observers from the European Community already work in my country. Some help enforce Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. Others are there at our invitation for on-site inspections to confirm the absence of military preparations for any involvment in the conflict in the neighbouring territory.

(Mr. Dimitrov, Bulgaria)

The Bulgarian Government has undertaken the necessary measures and is strictly complying with the relevant Security Council resolutions, notwithstanding their adverse impact on our economy.

In considering the conflict in former Yugoslavia, my Government is guided by the idea of developing and strengthening its good-neighbourly relations with all Balkan States. This long-term policy determines my country's firm position not to participate with armed forces and armaments in any peace-keeping operations on the territory of former Yugoslavia. We call upon all other Balkan States to use the same approach.

My Government will continue to cooperate fully with the international community in implementing the decisions of the Security Council and the London Conference.

As a country which is no longer affiliated with any military bloc, Bulgaria is at present seeking to establish new stable foundations for its national security. We see the necessary guarantees for our security in full membership in the existing European security structures. My Government is well aware of the fact that this process will take some time.

Bulgaria relies on close political and security cooperation within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE),the European Economic Community (EEC), the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Western European Union and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. My Government's activity within the framework of the CSCE is an integral part of the efforts to guarantee its national security. Bulgaria also takes an active part in the mechanisms of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which is helping the newly-emerged Eastern democracies to become closely associated with the Western world.

(Mr. Dimitrov, Bulgaria)

We have welcomed the Rome declaration of NATO, which complements the transatlantic bonds between democracies in North America and Europe by providing an "eastern dimension" - a partnership of a new quality with the new democracies of central and eastern Europe. The establishment of a mechanism of periodic consultations at the levels of Foreign Ministers or Ambassadors of the new European democracies with the North Atlantic Cooperation Council provides for consideration of security issues concerning the eastern part of the continent. We see in this process an opportunity to bridge differences in security perceptions and to be careful not to raise artificial barriers within the new partnership.

Alongside military and political dimensions of security, non-military factors will gain increasing importance in the process of peace-keeping.

We view the economic, political, environmental, cultural and other non-military forms of cooperation among the countries of Europe and North America as a catalyst for the gradual establishment of a Euro-Atlantic security area based on the principles of a market economy, political pluralism, universally acknowledged democratic values, and respect for the rights and freedoms of all people. Bulgaria's security-related interests, together with the profound democratic changes in my country, determine its place within this area. Meanwhile, a Euro-Atlantic security area will be an integral part of the new world order where the United Nations will continue to play a key role in preserving, promoting and maintaining international peace and security.

Mr. KHAMSY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure for me, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. My warm congratulations go also to the other officers of the Committee.

Since the end of the Second World War, the question of disarmament has been a source of constant concern to the international community, especially during the period of ideological antagonism which divided the world into two rival blocs - a period characterized by an unbridled arms race in the most sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, both nuclear and conventional. We must acknowledge that mankind was living under the constant threat of a nuclear holocaust capable of destroying our planet many times over set off by the least accidental spark.

Shortly after its creation, the United Nations, through the various bodies that were set up successively as needed, had undertaken to deal with the question of disarmament within the framework of its obligation to promote and safeguard international peace and security, as provided for in the Charter. Some important results were achieved during this period, but as regards attainment of the ultimate objective of general nuclear disarmament, it was not possible to see the light at the end of the tunnel. This was due to the practice of the two rival blocs, which were pursuing a policy of a balance of forces, supposedly to keep world peace, whereas in fact it was a "policy of a balance of terror" with all the risks and dangers inherent in the nuclear war that it could cause.*

---

* Mr. Suh, Republic of Korea, Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

In these past few years, when the world has entered into a new era at the end of the East-West confrontation, we are entitled to hope that great opportunities are now open for the international community to begin - on the basis of results and agreements already achieved - to work more actively in all the fields of arms control and disarmament. This work at various levels - multilateral, regional, bilateral, no matter how complex - is naturally complementary and deserves to be encouraged and supported by the international community with equal importance.

On the bilateral plane, we must note that the signing by the United States and the former Soviet Union of the Treaty on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - in 1987 had given serious impetus to the arduous and difficult negotiations aimed at reducing nuclear armaments in the two countries. Successive agreements concluded since then, including the important agreements announced last June by the United States and the Russian Federation, have opened up new prospects for complete nuclear disarmament - a matter of great hope for the international community as a whole. My delegation very much hopes to see other States that possess nuclear weapons freely joining this process at the appropriate time so that we may at last be able to move towards a world free of nuclear weapons in a climate of real international détente.

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

The complete and comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons in the world would make no sense if all States, especially the nuclear and potentially nuclear Powers, did not put a final end to their tests with a view to the manufacture or improvement of their new and ever more sophisticated and lethal weapons. In this connection, the Amendment Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water is of fundamental importance. My delegation fully supports the idea of convening this Conference during the course of next year, after all the necessary preparations have been carefully made. In this regard, we should pay a tribute to certain nuclear Powers which have agreed unilaterally to impose a moratorium on nuclear tests. My delegation hopes that the other Powers that have not yet done so will join in, so that we may at last achieve the complete and final cessation of such tests.

Only after we have achieved the elimination of all existing nuclear weapons and have finally put an end to those tests can we really ensure the non-discriminatory nature and universal scope of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which, we must admit, is at present only to the advantage of the Powers that possess such weapons and which encourages those countries that are potentially nuclear Powers to engage in research and manufacture. It is therefore imperative for us all to get out of this vicious circle.

Now that we are having the debate on disarmament, nothing is more comforting than to learn that the draft Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction has been finalized and will soon be submitted to the General

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

Assembly at its present session for adoption. My delegation warmly welcomes this achievement and wishes to pay tribute to its authors - the President and members of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva - for this valuable outcome. It is highly desirable that the effective implementation of this Convention, after it has entered into force, should without fail give a new impetus to other multilateral negotiations with a view to the conclusion, as soon as possible, of agreements on the prohibition of other categories of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons. My delegation, however, shares the concerns of the majority of developing countries regarding the implementation of some of the clauses of this Convention whose discriminatory interpretation might infringe their national sovereignty and hinder their development, especially in the area of the transfer of technology for peaceful purposes.

My delegation attaches especial importance to the question of the transfer of weapons, as well as to that of transparency and arms control. These two questions are in fact intimately linked, and in order for them to be in a position to contribute effectively to the promotion and maintenance of universal peace and security, they should not apply solely to the potential users of these armaments. If the Somalis are to be blamed for their fratricidal war and the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina for their ethnic conflict, we must place even more blame on those who are providing them with weapons, and - further back still - on those who are manufacturing them. Transparency and control must cover all sectors, from the research stage to utilization via production, stockpiling, transfer (whether commercial or undertaken free of charge, open or clandestine) and storage, and must apply to

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

all categories of weapons, including those which are intended to be used in outer space. Registration would really be pointless unless all States accepted the principle of transparency and control which I have just mentioned.

Peace and international security do not rest only on the control of armaments and on disarmament. As long as millions of human beings are still suffering from malnutrition, famine and disease, and several million more are still living in abject poverty, we cannot claim that there is going to be peace and security in the world. The efforts that are being made to achieve general and complete disarmament must therefore go hand in hand with efforts aimed at rectifying the economic and social situation of the developing countries. Resources freed through arms reductions in the North could make an even more effective contribution to the implementation of programmes to assist development in the South, where, in a world that is increasingly interdependent and cooperative, countries no longer have need of armies that are beyond their own resources and their real defence needs.

It is in this spirit, and in this new context, that my country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, has joined the common efforts being made by the other countries of our region to promote mutual understanding, confidence and cooperation by recently acceding to the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in South-East Asia of 1976. In that way, my country intends to contribute to building, together, genuine and lasting regional peace and stability on the basis of which we could devote the bulk of our means and resources to economic and social development in order to raise the standard of living of our people as a whole.

Mr. VAZQUEZ (Argentina)(interpretation from Spanish): Please allow me to congratulate Mr. Elaraby on his election to the office of Chairman of the First Committee at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I should also like to congratulate the other members of the Bureau.

We support the idea of combining the items on disarmament and international security in the general debate. So we should like to put forward a few considerations which fall within this area.

At present we are in the midst of building the post-cold-war order. It is for each and every one of us to play a part in designing it, and to ensure respect for certain fundamental principles, such as democracy, individual freedoms and human rights.*

---

* Mr. Patokallio (Finland), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

(Mr. Vázquez, Argentina)

We live in a constantly changing world. We believe that mankind now has an unprecedented window of opportunity. The challenge of this last decade of the century is to open that window and explore the new opportunities. My Government takes a positive view of the changes that are taking place, and it is determined to cooperate in so far as possible in the creation of the new world architecture.

The serious crisis in the former Yugoslavia, the resurgence of nationalism and age-old ethnic conflicts, have shown that we still have a long way to go before we achieve the stability we want. On the whole, however, we believe that the world has made progress towards that goal.

In the area of nuclear disarmament the results achieved over the past year have been encouraging. The two major nuclear Powers are continuing and increasing their bilateral efforts to reduce nuclear weapons. At the same time there is a general trend towards a reduction in the number of nuclear tests.

The Government of Argentina supports with greater firmness and conviction than ever the United Nations system of collective security, and it most definitely supports the Security Council, the principal body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

For us, the practical effectiveness of and respect for the machinery of the United Nations Charter is important on two counts. First, it is vital to mankind as a whole, for without peace and security it will be difficult for us to deal effectively with the major problems confronting us. Secondly, and more specifically, the Charter machinery is vital to the concrete and individual interests of Argentina. After all, the goals of growth and development do not depend only on our own efforts: they also depend on an

(Mr. Vázquez, Argentina)

international climate of détente and cooperation. It is in that context that the Charter of the United Nations and international law are so important.

Argentina's significant role in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia and other United Nations peace-keeping operations is of help in understanding our Government's position. We believe that every country has an obligation to make an active contribution to United Nations peace-keeping efforts, and we are therefore introducing reforms in our military structure so as to be better prepared to participate in peace-keeping operations on a regular basis. Our political position on the subject is clear.

We are greatly interested in the ideas and suggestions put forward by the Secretary-General in his report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). They deserve careful and prompt consideration by the international community. Here, I would recall the proposal made by the countries involved in the consultation and policy-coordination machinery known as the Rio Group. Those countries feel that the General Assembly should give close attention to that document.

It is obvious that the United Nations cannot deal with each and every international conflict on its own. There is, therefore, a need to strengthen regional machinery. In that connection, we have joined our neighbours in contributing to the strengthening of a subregional body.

The harmony and cooperation that prevail among the countries of the Cone of South America have set a real example for the rest of the world. That situation is the result of promising agreements on economic integration, such as the Southern Cone Common Market, or MERCOSUR, and of concrete steps taken to promote confidence and transparency in the field of security. Our countries are firmly united in the struggle against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In the case of Argentina, as our Foreign

(Mr. Vázquez, Argentina)

Minister stated in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, our commitment is one of the pillars of our national policy and has been repeatedly evidenced by concrete deeds.

Of particular note are the successes recorded in the relations between Argentina and Brazil. Over the course of less than two years the two countries have signed a bilateral agreement on nuclear safeguards, established a bilateral system for accounting for and control of nuclear materials, signed an agreement - which has already been ratified by my country - on a full safeguards system with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), signed together with Chile an agreement banning chemical weapons from the subregion, and successfully promoted amendments to the Treaty of Tlatelolco to ensure its full effectiveness. That rapid process has been a fundamental contribution to the abolition of weapons of mass destruction from our region once and for all.

The changes made in the Treaty of Tlatelolco have been very positive. They have introduced guarantees with regard to the control mechanism, challenge inspections and the preservation of technological secrets. For that reason, Argentina, Brazil and Chile have committed themselves to responding positively by the the prompt enactment of legislation approving the amendments. We are convinced that in a few months all of Latin America and the Caribbean will be protected in a fully effective nuclear-weapon-free zone.

Another important element is the so-called Declaration of Mendoza of September 1991 on chemical and bacteriological weapons, which is fully in line with the draft Convention on chemical weapons recently negotiated at Geneva. That Convention has Argentina's support and represents a clear success in the struggle against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

(Mr. Vázquez, Argentina)

At the subregional level also, Argentina has demonstrated its firm commitment to non-proliferation in a decree regulating the export of sensitive nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and missile equipment. That instrument lays down strict guidelines and establishes the need for export licences. In addition, it incorporates into Argentine law such important international agreements as the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the so-called Australian List of chemical products. This is a further demonstration that Argentina will coordinate its own action regarding non-proliferation with that of other countries that share its approach.

Still on the subject of non-proliferation, I would emphasize that Argentina believes that the Security Council and IAEA should play an increasingly active role in this area. We support the relevant proposals of the Director-General of IAEA, and we support close cooperation between the Agency and the Security Council.

An item to which Argentina gives priority is transparency in armaments. The adoption of General Assembly 46/36 L represented, in our opinion, a starting-point in a process that will contribute to greater predictability and, therefore, to peace and stability in the international political arena.

The Register of Conventional Arms established and maintained by the Secretary-General is a useful tool to which all States should contribute as an early-warning mechanism and as a real means to assist the political will of States to make progress through cooperation, avoiding misunderstandings and without contravening the right to legitimate self-defence enshrined in the Charter.

(Mr. Vázquez, Argentina)

The delegation of Argentina wishes to express its satisfaction with the report submitted by the Panel of Governmental Technical Experts which, under the effective chairmanship of Ambassador Wagenmakers of the Netherlands, has been working out the technical procedures necessary for the proper functioning of the Register and ways and means to expand it.

Japan's efforts to organize a meeting in Tokyo with the participation of all States represented on the Panel and others concerned in the process also deserve our appreciation.

We believe that the ground is now ready for us to take the first steps towards exchanging information on the transfer of conventional weapons. The exercise we are now entering upon can either be one of historic importance or merely one more failure, a failure that can and must be avoided.

(Mr. Vázquez, Argentina)

The Conference on Disarmament also has an undeniable responsibility in this regard. The Convention on chemical weapons - which we are pleased to have before the Assembly this year - will not exhaust the human and material resources of the Geneva body, which will now be able to deal in a systematic and determined manner with the new item on its agenda: "Transparency in armaments".

Mr. PAK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): It is the desire of all mankind to build a free and peaceful new world - a goal that must be achieved through joint efforts.

Considering international peace and security to be its fundamental ideal, the United Nations has, since its founding, made continued efforts towards the realization of that goal. The process of peaceful settlement of the question of Cambodia and the bright prospects for national unity, peace, independence and sovereignty in that country are vivid examples of such efforts by the United Nations.

While the cold war and East-West confrontation have ended, disputes between countries, ethnic conflicts and north-south confrontation are on the rise. An atmosphere conducive to global dialogue and negotiations has been created, but the threat to peace and security continues unabated. With the imbalance of forces, we see the emergence of undisguised tendencies towards domination through forceful suppression of other countries, and towards making the world unipolar.

Ensuring the political sovereignty of all countries and their equality in international politics through the democratization of international relations is a basic requirement for international peace and security. It is a fundamental ideal of the United Nations Charter that people should live in peace and freedom and achieve prosperity for all through democratic and

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

equitable international relations. A "peace" that allows domination and subjugation cannot be regarded as genuine peace. As long as there are manoeuvres to infringe the sovereignty of other countries, it is inevitable that the people will struggle against them, and that international peace and security will be jeopardized.

All countries and peoples have the right to choose and develop their own ideologies and socio-political systems in conformity with the realities and historical conditions of their country. Today, however, there is a tendency in international relations for one country to infringe the sovereignty of others and even to overthrow or destroy their socio-political systems, thereby forcing its own ideology, views and values on others. This, in turn, results in political and military mistrust and confrontation among countries and nations, and can lead countries from a state of détente to the brink of war by accelerating the arms race.

Foreign forces and military bases stationed in other countries - a legacy of the cold war - present a challenge to the aspirations of a people to build a new democratic international society. Posing as an international police force while stationing troops in another country under the pretext of preventing war is an infringement of the sovereignty and dignity of that country. We firmly believe that no country should pursue regional hegemony or seek to establish an area of influence, or station military forces or bases in other countries.

With international relations characterized by ever-growing interdependence, it is more urgent than ever to maintain the principle of equity in bilateral or multilateral solutions to international issues.

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

The world will never be at peace as long as arbitrariness and special privileges for certain countries are allowed in international affairs. All countries are equal, regardless of their size or level of development. The bigger the country, the greater is its responsibility to be faithful to the principles of international equality and justice.

The desire of peoples for international peace and security is now focused on the issue of democratizing the United Nations, the main organization for negotiating global issues, and on increasing its effectiveness and expanding its role. Restructuring the United Nations in a democratic manner is a practical means of eliminating arbitrariness and privileges and of equitably resolving international issues in conformity with the interests of the majority of countries.

Detailed and constructive proposals for the democratic reform of the United Nations have been put forward recently amid increasing interest on the part of the international community.

The way to ensure peace and security in the Korean peninsula, which is in a pivotal position in North-East Asia, is, after all, to achieve Korean reunification. The unexpected events that took place on the Korean peninsula this year have drawn the world's attention to the situation in that region. Bright prospects for disarmament and détente in the Korean peninsula and for its reunification were ushered in with the implementation of the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression and Cooperation and Exchange between the north and the south, and the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

The commitment of the north and the south not to fight each other and to work together towards national reunification proved that neither foreign

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

forces nor differences in ideology or systems could divide our nation. It also showed that the experts on the Korean question were the Koreans of the north and south, and that in any case it is our nation's will to achieve peace and reunification through its own independent force.

Today, what is important in solving the question of reunification are the joint efforts of the north and the south to fully implement the Agreement and further lead the nation towards reunification by means of confederation. It is most important, in implementing the North-South Agreement, to reject any outside interference with regard to an independent stand - the fundamental principle of the Agreement.

Independence is the lifeblood of countries and nations as well as of human beings. Recent changes in international relations have further strengthened our people's will for independence and renewed their trust and confidence in the socialist system that they themselves have chosen.

Today, in view of the current trend towards dialogue, reconciliation and democracy in international relations, the old way of thinking - pursing one's own interests by infringing another country's independence through pressure and force - can convince no one.

The primary task now incumbent on our country is to explore the way to a just and peaceful reunification. We put forward the proposal for reunification through confederation based on one nation, one State, two systems and two Governments in the light of the specific conditions prevailing in the Korean peninsula, where different ideas and systems exist.

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

We can say that basic problems have been solved in realizing the country's reunification through confederation since joint committees in such areas as military and economic affairs have been formed and put into operation, under the terms of the North-South Agreement.

The Government of our Republic will make every effort to reach our final goal of reunification by continuously promoting the implementation of the North-South Agreement and the process of reunification that has already begun.

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

An urgent question to be resolved today in connection with ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula is that of terminating legally the state of war that today has lasted 40 years, since the Korean war was temporarily suspended.

As for the armistice agreement, it stipulates the suspension of military actions of the warring sides but not the legal termination of a state of war. Such a state of armistice causes an extremely abnormal situation in which the United Nations flag is abused as a symbol of one of these warring sides on the military demarcation line of the Korean peninsula. This inflicts severe damage on the United Nations image.

The expression "United Nations Forces" in south Korea is merely symbolic and in fact has nothing to do with the United Nations. It is self-evident that such an abnormal state of affairs cannot last any longer. If the United Nations flag on the military demarcation line is lowered and measures for the withdrawal of the United Nations Command are taken, it will create a condition under which my country participates more actively in United Nations activities and will also contribute to the peaceful reunification of Korea and world peace.

The legal parties concerned in the Korean war are, of course, my country and the United Nations, but it is clear to the world that the real parties concerned are my country and the United States.

I expect that the the international community will pay close attention to this issue.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the Holy See.

Archbishop MARTINO (Holy See): I wish to extend warm congratulations to Mr. Elaraby on his election as Chairman of this important Committee and to the other officers of the Committee as well.

(Archbishop Martino, Holy See)

Once more, we meet at a time when hope and fear intersect on the human agenda: hope that a world of post-cold-war enlightenment and political change may lead to a more secure future for all humanity; fear that the ethnic and parochial hatreds breaking into repeated violent conflict may lead to still more suffering and disintegration of societies. It is true that uncertainty, destabilization and unpredictability are the signs of the times. Yet, since we last met, an advance in political recognition of the requirements of true peace has been made.

The new understanding of security, enunciated at the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, constitutes a theme that must be developed. The world leaders issued a declaration containing this new analysis:

> "The absence of war and military conflicts amongst States does not in itself ensure international peace and security. The non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to peace and security." (S/PV.3046, p. 143)

Thus, an integrated agenda for global security now challenges us. Confronted by multiple threats to humanity's survival, the adversaries in the old East-West conflict no longer stand on opposite sides; they now face the same danger, illustrated so poignantly by the division of humanity into a wealthy North and an impoverished South. With each passing day, it becomes clearer that all countries will need to cooperate to combat critical global problems: the future of nuclear weapons, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, massive poverty, environmental destruction, international terrorism, drug trafficking and the depletion of non-renewable resources. The development of an effective and stable international legal and political

(Archbishop Martino, Holy See)

framework requires a comprehensive approach to world peace, social justice, economic development and environmental protection.

Power politics must yield to the rule of law between States. Three mutually reinforcing developments are needed. First, nations must resolve, as they undertook to do in signing the Charter of the United Nations, to settle conflicts by peaceful means, such as mediation, arbitration and negotiation. Secondly, international institutions, such as the International Court of Justice, regional bodies and the subsidiary agencies of the United Nations, must be strengthened. Thirdly, public opinion must be mobilized, and here non-governmental organizations have a vital role to play.

The Holy See recognizes in the very important report of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali entitled "An Agenda for Peace" a call for movement in precisely this direction. The practical proposals he has made to advance preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping are a major step forward in identifying effective machinery to resolve conflicts without war. My delegation has paid special attention to what the Secretary-General calls "post-conflict peacebuilding" (A/47/277, para. 5): action to identify and support structures to solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Such steps would include disarming the previously warring parties, destroying weapons, repatriating refugees, training security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing the protection of human rights and reforming governmental institutions.

Like the Secretary-General, my delegation notes

> "an increasingly common moral perception that spans the world's nations and peoples". (A/47/277, para. 15)

This gives a wider mission to the world Organization to address, as was not possible in the paralysing years of the cold war, the deepest causes of

(Archbishop Martino, Holy See)

conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression. We now have more confidence that the perilous course of humanity can be altered, indeed uplifted, by breaking the debilitating nexus between militarism and security. The world should not miss the opportunity that has opened up at this moment of transformation in history to demilitarize security policies.

The purpose of global demilitarization is to reduce the role of military power in international relations. This extends beyond reduction of forces to a reformulation of national policies that would state that war is not useful, is not necessary, and that preparations for war undermine common security. The chain of war-making technologies must be broken. Alternative security policies need to make it possible to live not just by reducing weapons but by abolishing war.

(Archbishop Martino, Holy See)

The past year has witnessed an agreement to cut, in radical proportions, the vast arsenal of nuclear weapons possessed by the two major Powers. After long years of negotiation, a draft convention to ban the production of chemical weapons has been achieved. A United Nations Register of Conventional Arms is under way. The Holy See applauds these accomplishments, and wants to express its full support for both the Convention on chemical weapons and the Register of Conventional Arms. It must be noted, however, that these remarkable steps give momentum to the disarmament process but are not complete of themselves.

Those who quest for a safer world through the reduction of nuclear wapons must realize that the nuclear sword cannot be lifted from our heads until all countries drastically reduce their conventional arms so as to preclude their offensive capabilities, and that deep and widespread conventional reductions will not occur until a real political will for disarmament and for transparency in the arms trade takes hold, making possible the creation of international institutions to enforce peace. That in effect would abolish war and lift human civilization to the level intended by God.

A focal point of these new efforts to build confidence and cooperation in the international community is to extend efforts to achieve a moratorium on nuclear testing to obtain the long-sought comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The world is now closer than ever before to a régime that would halt all nuclear testing by all countries for all times. Such a ban is essential to the successful prolongation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty beyond 1995. The present moment is rich with potential, and must not be lost. It is no longer enough merely to reduce nuclear stocks. The world must move to the

(Archbishop Martino, Holy See)

abolition of nuclear weapons through a universal, non-discriminatory ban, with intensive inspection by a universal authority. Let no one dare to say that this is unobtainable, for in recent history we have witnessed the materialization of positive developments that were once unthinkable.

We live at a moment in which the dreams of yesterday have become the reality of today. The dangerous strategy of nuclear deterrence is outmoded. Nuclear weapons are unneeded. War itself has no place in a world in which common security has become the dominant characteristic.

The work of this Committee is by no means over. Through its resolutions and advocacy, it must encourage the historic passage from militarism. It must reinforce peace-building measures, halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, stop the arms trade, and, with one voice, stimulate the immediate negotiation of a nuclear test ban.

This activity, progressive and hopeful, will prepare the way for a peace dividend of lasting proportions. The end of the cold war means that spending for military security can now be replaced by spending for people security. A reduction of only 3 per cent a year would provide a cumulative peace dividend of $1.5 trillion in the 1990s. As His Holiness Pope John Paul II has noted,

> "Transferring [to developing countries] the enormous resources derived from such conversion constitutes a new effort at collaboration and solidarity between peoples and nations".

Through the centuries the Church has proclaimed the words of the Prophet Isaiah, "They shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks". Our hope now lies in the blossoming of intelligence and action. Common action, common security is the realism of the new age.

Mr. PRASAD (Nepal): Mr. Chairman, I wish to express the appreciation of my delegation for the most effective way in which you have been guiding the deliberations of this important Committee. With a person of your knowledge, experience and skill in the Chair, we are confident of a fruitful outcome for the work of the First Committee at this session of the General Assembly.

The debate on disarmament and international security is taking place in the midst of profound changes in international relations. One of the most important features of post-cold-war perception has been the growing focus on the non-military aspects of security. Arms reduction and disarmament, especially in the field of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, continue to command the high priority they deserve. However, as the Secretary-General observed in his statement yesterday on the observance of Disarmament Week, the time has come to integrate the arms-reduction and disarmament issues into the broader structure of the international peace and security agenda.

My delegation fully shares the Secretary-General's observations, and welcomes his report on new dimensions of arms regulation and disarmament in the post-cold-war era. We view the integration of disarmament and security issues in the debate in this Committee as a step towards those larger goals.

The far-reaching changes we have been witnessing have to some degree reduced the risk of a nuclear war. The historic momentum towards the elimination nuclear weapons generated by the Treaty on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF Treaty) has been maintained through the conclusion of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. We are happy that the United States Senate

(Mr. Prasad, Nepal)

has recently ratified that Treaty. Nepal welcomes the agreement reached in the summer of this year between the United States and the Russian Federation on further significant cuts in nuclear arsenals. We sincerely hope that the steady reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the two most important nuclear-weapon States will encourage the other nuclear-weapon States to join in the process.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons has long been a matter of deep concern to the international community. The disintegration of the former Soviet Union has added to this global concern. In these uncertain times, the Non-Proliferation Treaty continues to be the corner-stone of international cooperation. With the accession of China and France, the Non-Proliferation Treaty has gained renewed vitality. We have also noted with satisfaction the announcement by Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus that they would accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. My delegation strongly supports the view that that Treaty needs to be strengthened, acceded to universally, and extended for an unlimited duration beyond 1995.

The cessation of nuclear weapons tests continues to be a priority objective in the area of nuclear disarmament. The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty will be a major step towards strengthening the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We welcome the moratorium on nuclear tests announced by France and the Russian Federation. Likewise, we welcome the move in the United States towards limiting testing. My delegation regrets the inability of the 1992 session of the Conference on Disarmament to re-establish an ad hoc committee on a nuclear test ban. We sincerely hope that the momentum generated by recent developments will be seized to make a decisive move towards a comprehensive test ban.

(Mr. Prasad, Nepal)

My delegation is pleased that the Conference on Disarmamnet has finally concluded its negotiations on the long-awaited convention on chemical weapons. We look forward to the early entry into force of this historic convention, which outlaws a whole category of weapons of mass destruction.

(Mr. Prasad, Nepal)

Transparency in armaments and the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms are important issues on the disarmament agenda. We have received with interest the report of the group of experts in this regard. We sincerely hope that the operation of this new United Nations instrument will be guided by the need to maintain the delicate balance between the rights and the responsibilities of the participating States.

In recent years conventional disarmament and measures at the regional level have been receiving the attention they deserve. We have seen confidence- and security-building measures play an important role in the creation of conditions favourable to arms control and disarmament. Confidence-building measures and security-building measures have to take into account the peculiar security perceptions and considerations of the regions concerned. In this context, I wish to refer to the work of the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific, which is located at Kathmandu, Nepal. The fruitful discussions that take place in an informal setting under the auspices of the Regional Centre in Kathmandu have been acknowledged as important steps towards exploring the confidence-building measures and the security-building measures and other, related, options applicable to the sensitive Asia-Pacific region. In the light of the the growing emphasis on regional approaches, the Centre has an important role to play as a forum in which diplomats, academics and experts can discuss disarmament, arms reduction and issues of peace and security. Important though the potential in these areas is, the successful operation of the Centre depends on generous voluntary contributions. My delegation believes that it is in our common interest to encourage such centres and to support their activities through voluntary contributions.

(Mr. Prasad, Nepal)

I cannot end my statement without reiterating my delegation's conviction that the United Nations has a central role to play in respect of matters of arms control, disarmament and security. Fundamental changes in international relations offer this Organization a unique opportunity. We have seen the welcome results of the decision to rationalize the work of the Disarmament Commission. The Disarmament Commission's adoption, at this year's substantive session, of guidelines and recommendations for objective information on military matters is an important achievement. The Conference on Disarmament has made a landmark contribution by adopting the global Convention banning chemical weapons, and it should now concentrate on other major items on its agenda - especially items relating to nuclear disarmament. The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research is meeting an important need of the international community - the need for independent and in-depth research materials on various aspects of disarmament.

The right of self-defence is sacrosanct and is recognized in the Charter. However, the present obsession with military security is incompatible with the vision of the post-cold-war world order to which we all aspire. This Organization provides the forum for all countries - big or small, strong or weak - to work together towards those larger goals.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.